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to preserve the purity of chiefly blood. Cross-cousin marriage, which will be discussed below, was rather for economic reasons than to perpetuate the purity of descent.

The most common mode of forming alliances between tribes was through the affiancing and marriage of the children of chiefs. Connected with these alliances were rites, elaborate ceremonial, and rules regulating the relationship.

Inheritance

Both in the northern and in the southern sections of the group inheritance of the position and rights of a chief or chiefess was always by the first-born child, whether male or female. In actual practice, however, inheritance was much more frequently by males than by females, for the reason that a man whose first-born was a girl would be most likely to adopt the first-born male child of some one else, who would then supercede his own first-born girl as inheritor of his rights and property. A chief, like the father of any other household, abdicated, in theory, upon the birth of his first-born son. In actual practice the head of a family or tribe would continue to function until the first-born had attained maturity; but all the members if the family or the tribe, as the case might be, regarded the child from its earliest infancy as the actual head of the family or tribe (cf. 14, p. 103). It has already been brought out at several points that there was a much stronger tendency in Nuku Hiva and Ua Pou toward regarding the chief and chiefess as sacred individuals than there was in Hiva Oa. I have also spoken of the fact that all male first-borns were regarded as *tapu*, being the living representatives of the ancestral stock. That the *tapu* of chiefs was partly due to these factors is certain, but I believe it was largely a mere accompaniment of their power and position. It seems, furthermore, that the sacredness of chiefesses was due entirely to their position, since a woman was never the representative of the family stock.

Personal tapu

The sanctity of male children in general, discussed later in connection with family, was merely exaggerated in the case of male chiefs. The head being the most *tapu* of all parts of the body, for chiefs in particular but likewise for every first-born, many precautions were taken to prevent anything profane from passing over it or touching it. The persons of both chiefs and chiefesses were regarded as *tapu* in Nuku Hiva and Ua Pou, but, apparently, in the southern section of the group chiefs and people concerned themselves little about it. Père Jean, writing of Ua Pou, says that the person who passed over a chief would be punished by *nani kaha*,

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witchcraft. It was thus, through the sending of sickness into the person who offended, that the chief or other *tapu* man punished offenders—particularly women, who embodied the most contaminating influences. The sacredness of the persons of chiefs in Nuku Hiva is illustrated by the following from Krusenstern (16, p. 126):

> Before we quitted the king's house, we were shown his granddaughter, who, as well as all the children and grandchildren of the king's family, is looked upon as *etua*, a deity. She had a house of her own, to which her mother, grandmother, and her nearest relations alone were allowed free admittance; the house being to all others tabu.

Like the person of the chief or chiefess, the house was regarded as *tapu*, but less so in the southern section than in the northern. There is now living in Haka Ui, Nuka Hiva, an old chiefess who is very *tapu* and still preserves her exclusiveness. It has already been said that on Ua Pou commoners were not allowed to enter the houses of chiefs or chiefesses. In contrast to this, I was told that on Hiva Oa the *ka'ioi*, young male libertines, used to enter the house of the chiefess at Pua Ma'u by night just as they would visit any other house in the course of their nightly escapades. Stewart (26, p. 217) says with regard to the *tapu* class as a whole, which would include not only chiefs but all men tapu through being heads of families or as a result of association with activity of some kind:

> As in other groups where this system prevails, the restrictions of the tabu particularly affect those of the common class in points respecting their habitations and food. The houses of men of the tabu class can never be entered by a woman or other person of the common order; consequently the wives of such, and other females with their attendants in their families, whether in a stated or temporary residence, have separate houses for cooking and eating.

The personal property of sacred persons, particularly of chiefs, was imbued with the quality of their sacredness, and hence had to be protected
[562] from profane or contaminating influences. Thus the pipe of a chief could not be smoked by any woman. His clothing was *tapu*, particularly to women, and especially the *hiapo*, cloth made from the young banyan, which was distinctly the cloth of chiefs and first-born males.

In general, it may be said that the chief had no distinctive *tapu* connected with him which might not also be associated with any other person, particularly with any other first-born male; but such *tapu* as were associated with the first-born in general were given special weight and importance in the case of chiefs, because of their position and their power
[689 to compel respect. Punishment for infringement of their personal *tapu*
754] was inflicted through the indirect method of sending sickness by witchcraft, or by the direct method of simply killing the offender.

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755 ing the shed, he picked up the food, and rushed out with it precipitately. It was thought that the viands had attracted the spirit back—the *tau'a* showed scratches on the food, which indicated that the spirit had been partaking. He then pretended to catch the spirit in a vessel, and proved his success by exhibiting a large black caterpillar in it. The vessel was then applied to the ear of the sick person and the spirit was supposed to re-enter his body.

Presages of Death

787 762 Presages of death often came in dreams of various kinds. It is said also that sometimes a spirit was heard outside the sleeping house at night, calling the name of an inmate. He whose name was called was soon to die. Where there was sickness, the cry of a particular bird—the species varied in different valleys—presaged the death of the afflicted person. It was the *kaako* bird in Hatiheu (4); at Pua Ma'u it was the *koevaeva* (*Endamis tahitiensis*).

WITCHCRAFT

754 Sorcery of the type about to be described was known as *nati* (*nani*) *kaha*. *Nati* or *nani* means to tie up, or bind, and also a sharp point, being applied for example to the bayonet used by the European soldiers. *Kaha* means spittle and also coconut fiber. *Nati kaha* was applied both to the practice and to the professionals who devoted themselves to it, the latter being called also *tuhuna nati kaha*. Such witches were both male and female. It appears that certain tribes were more addicted to the practice of this type of sorcery than others. The medium through which the spell was worked was saliva, urine, excrement, clothing, or anything else that had been intimately associated with the victim. It was called *mouuu* (a word applied also to bait used by fishermen); another term for it was *momo*.

A spell that had been worked on a person showed its effect sometimes quickly, sometimes slowly. The victim might waste away gradually or he might be afflicted with violent stomach trouble and die in a few days. One informant from Tahu Ata described the effect of *nati kaha* as being indicated by the appearance of white spots on the stomach, a symptom that was followed by violent pains in that region and death in a few days. A spell manifested itself sometimes in chills and fever. I have been told of one victim whose eyes were afflicted and of another whose hands and arms were affected.

On Hiva Oa after the "bait" or medium for transmitting the spells (a piece of clothing, or the like) had been secured, a fire was built in a hole and burnt to ashes. The ashes were then scraped away, a hole was

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dug in which the "bait" was buried, and the ashes and earth were thereupon heaped on top of it. It is said that the earth around the hole and above it remained hot on account of the spell, which was recited during the process. This heat was supposed to cause heat or fever in the person, on whom the spell was inflicted. The manner of working in Nuku Hiva was different, and was based on the principle of binding rather than that of burning. The bait was bound in a package of coconut fiber and buried. I have not heard of this method in Hiva Oa, nor have I heard of the use of fire in Nuku Hiva. 754

According to a Nuku Hiva informant, a *tukuka nani kaha* would never divulge his secrets, not even to his own son just before he died. On Hiva Oa I was told, however, that one who desired to learn the practice could go to a *tuhuna nati kaha* for instruction. The person who desired to have this power must kill his or her father, mother, or sister (whether by a spell or by physical means is unknown). The body was then put in a coffin and taken to a sacred place (*me'ae*). There, offerings and prayers were made to it by the person performing the rite, in order to increase the power (*mana*) of the spirit. Thereafter, the spirit of the deceased relative became the familiar of the sorcerer. (See the discussion of familiar spirits and *fanaua*, under Spirits.)

THE PRACTICE OF SORCERY

Père Pierre (4) describes the practice of sorcery in Nuku Hiva as follows. When the bait (*momo*) had been secured, it was wrapped in leaves of the *noni* with leaves of the *mi'o*, and certain evil smelling plants, and the whole was wrapped in the husk of the coconut and tied tightly either with sennit or crushed reed stems. This was then buried, with the accompanying recitation of a spell. During the whole time that the *tuhuna* was performing his rite, he must be naked; he danced around the hole into which he had put the *kaha;* he hugged the trees, invoking certain deities to cause the death of the victim. Père Pierre (4) writes that the bait was regarded as representing the soul or spirit of the victim.

The same writer also describes the method (on what island he does not say) of digging a hole in the earth, lighting a fire in it, throwing in some evil smelling plants, and, on top of all, the bait. The *tuhuna* then danced around the hole reciting the same incantation as was used in the other rite described above. This manner of practice was called *taotao te kaha* (*tao*, to bake).

According to a description of the practice on Nuku Hiva given to Krusenstern (16, p, 174), the bait was mixed with a powder, put in a spe-

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754 cially woven bag, and buried. Langsdorff (18, p. 155) furnishes us with an exceedingly interesting description:

> For this purpose [killing by means of a spell] a preparation is required, called here a kacha, the composing of which is one of the most important secrets among them. The person who would fabricate one, must first wash his whole body perfectly clean; for three days he must not eat, he must not drink much, and must have no intercourse with the female sex. All the time he is preparing the kacha he must live in a taboo-place, that is to say, a morai or popoi-taboo house. The kacha itself is a little purse or bag made with the threads of cocoa-nuts and other threads woven together, in which the skin of a fresh-killed lizard, various sorts of plants, a little stone of a particular form, a small piece of bamboo-cane, and a number of other things, are tied up together. But the principal thing is to seek out some one among the enemies of the man they would afflict with illness, and procure from him some of his hair, the remains of something he has been eating, and some earth on which he has spit or made water, with a little piece of the cloth that he wraps round his waist; without these ingredients the kacha would have no effect.
>
> Three of these enchanted bags are commonly made: when ready they must be well perfumed, and buried separately in the ground, in some remote spot.

According to Père Siméon (7), the bait was sometimes tied to a stone and thrown into the sea with a curse. When this was done, there was no possibility of relieving the spell nor of saving the victim.

To kill a man by the rite of *tiha ipu*, the *tau'a* employed went upon a sacred place (*ahu*). A drum was beaten—apparently to attract the spirit of the victim. The victim's spirit (*kuhane*) was then supposed to be caught by the *tau'a* between two half coconut shells, and these, being held together, were then crushed with stone—it was thought that the crushing and destruction of the spirit of the man was accomplished by this, and the victim was expected to die in a few days (19).

Spells for Revenge

When a man had been taken as a revenge victim, a female relative sometimes performed the rite called *naue*. Taking off her clothes she rubbed her body with red earth and ashes, put on an apron-like arrangement of leaves, and placed hibiscus flowers (*Hibiscus rosa sinensis*) in her hair. Then, taking with her breadfruit paste and *noni* fruits, she went to the place where the murderer of her relative lived. As she approached, she threw about bits of the cooked breadfruit paste and the *noni*, saying, "There are *feikai* and *poke* [see Preparation of Food] . . . carry them to your friend." Thereupon, it is said, two ghosts would appear, those of the killer and of his victim. The woman then danced about, striking her body with her hands. If the spirit of the killer came first, it was a sign that the murderer would be taken for a victim or that he would die; if the spirit of the dead man preceded, these results would not follow. The spirit of the dead man was supposed to be recognized

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by his slow walk—his body being dead, he naturally could not make good progress.

Personal revenge was also accomplished by means of an offering to a god, accompanied by the request that the personal enemy be killed. The rite was called *utuna* (*uuuka*). A pig, fish, or *kava* was carried to the sacred place and offered with the formula, "O——, here is your offering, bring about the death of——." For the same purpose, before eating, a little *popoi* was thrown into the air, with the same invocation (4).

Another manner of accomplishing *naue* was as follows. Female relatives would come to the place where the dead man's body was, and weep. No one could touch them. Anyone who accepted anything from their hands would be taken as a human victim (4).

From Père Pierre's manuscript (4) comes this account of the way in which a man could revenge himself upon a thief. When a man's pigs had been stolen, he had recourse to a *tau'a umoko* who cast the spell called *umoko* in the following way: The *tau'a* took branches of the vine called *papa*, made a circle with the twigs, and then walked around it six times, saying a spell—

> Around, around, O Oieke,
> I am turning, O Oieke,
> Take your man, O Oieke,
> The man born of the land, O Oieke,
> Taimenanu is the man, O Oieke.

The practitioner extended his arms as though taking in his hands the spirit of the thief and recited another spell. He then went upon the temple platform, pretending meanwhile to carry the spirit in his hands. Arrived at the sacred place, he put the twigs of *papa* (*Phaseolus amoenus*) in a hole with some other plants that cause itching, as for instance wild taro or down of bamboo, and covered all with earth. During seven days sexual intercourse was *tapu* to the priest and he must fast an equal number of days. According to Père Pierre, he would in reality fast three days, the fact of the other four being accomplished in a single day by lying down and getting up four times. On the seventh day—according to an informant, the thief fell sick and died slowly.

A thief could protect himself against the *umoko* by washing his body with the grease of the pig that he had stolen. If the thief had done this, those who solicited the *umoko* would die.

Another manner of accomplishing the death of a thief was by means of the rite called *niu vahi*. The *tuhuna niu vahi* made a *koufau* by taking a stick of *fau*, scraping off its bark, and ornamenting it with little strips of white cloth. With this he went at night upon the house platform of the

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man he desired to kill, tapped on the pavement with the stick, and pronounced a curse. It is said also that he put in the crevices of the pavement certain objects that would cause the death of the victim when he passed over them (4).

To kill persons who had stolen, some of the root called *eka* (amomum), leaves of the *okaoka* or *hue puoo* (according to Dordillon, the *akaoka* was a nettle and the *hue puao*, a colocynth.) or *oka*, a kind of shrub somewhat like a raspberry bush, with the down of reeds were put into a hole made for the purpose in the soft-wooded tree called *pu'atea* (?). The hole was then stopped up. The thief was supposed to lose all his hair and die (4) as a result of this spell.

Spells for Protection

When a man desired to steal pigs or other property of someone else, he made collars of pandanus seed and offered them to the spirit of some dead person, invoking its aid in his enterprise. It was thought that after this rite had been performed the members of the household from whom the thieving was to be done would hear nothing, that their dogs would not bark, and that the pigs would not cry. The pandanus-seed collar was sometimes placed on a dessicated body, if one were available. Père Pierre (4), who recorded this practice, relates that a woman who had performed this rite stole a baby from a house filled with people and dogs, without disturbance or detection. She claimed afterwards to have been conducted by the spirit of a gigantic man.

When a man desired to lay a *kahui* (restriction) on his land, he took to a *tuhuna ko'aho* a coconut leaf from his land and requested him to perform the rite called *ko'aho*. The *tuhuna* wove the leaf into a representation of a human figure (*tiki*). He then heated a pebble in the fire, collected some shell fish, which he crushed, and a poison leaf that irritated the skin on contact; all of these articles he put together in a basket, and buried them in a hole at the base of a tree on the client's property, covering the hole with stones. Above the hole, the woven coconut leaf sign was fastened on the tree, being called *ko'aho*. The land was now *tapu*. It was expected that any trespasser would be afflicted with ulcers (*puku*) in the stomach or under the arm.

When a man's chickens died or did not prosper he might perform the spell called *pou hati kau* (*pou*, post; *hati*, to break or assemble; *kau*, ?). A post was set up where the chickens were fed. Seven small packages of breadfruit paste were cooked; the seventh being thrown away. Seven small packages of *makiko* (see Preparation of Food) were baked, and the seventh thrown away. Seven crawfish were caught, and the seventh was

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thrown away. Seven small sticks of *fau* were peeled and ornamented with bands of white cloth, the seventh being discarded. All of these articles were assembled, six of each kind, and buried near the post. This rite was supposed to make the chickens thrive. Père Pierre (4) relates that sometimes a man could feed his pigs on pork and fish to put them in a better condition. I infer that there were magical practices connected with this custom though they are not described.

Transference of a Spell

The following account is interesting as an example of a transference of a spell. A native woman doctor had been called to heal the hand of an old white resident. The grandson of this resident, a mischievous boy, interfered with and angered the practitioner in the course of her work A short time afterwards the affliction that had been healed for the grandmother appeared on the arms and hands of the boy. Nothing could be done to relieve his suffering. After a time, someone came to the grandmother and told her that the *tau'a* who had doctored her hand had cast the spell upon her grandchild, and furthermore, that this *tau'a* was at that moment upon her deathbed and that if she did not relieve the spell from the boy before she passed away he could not be healed. The grandmother then went to the *tau'a* and persuaded her to remove the spell. This she did before she died, and the boy's hands and arms healed. No one knew what the woman doctor did to lay this spell or to transfer it, or what she did, before she died, to remove it.

Removal of a Spell

On Hiva Oa when one was afflicted by *nati kaha*, a present called *kahaape tastae* was given to a *tau'a* to reveal who the *tuhuna* was who had laid the spell. It was then necessary by means of gifts to persuade the *tuhuna* to remove it.

The following account of the casting and removal of a spell laid on a white man, the captain of a trading schooner, is vouched for by white residents. The spell was worked by a *tuhuna nati kaha*, an old woman of Hiva Oa, at the behest of a native whose wife had been taken off by the white man. The native wanted revenge. The usual method was used—that is to say, a piece of clothing belonging to the white man was buried, with the proper incantations, in a hole in the ground under ashes and earth. The eyes of the victim were thereupon afflicted, so that for months he had to wear a bandage over them. Finally a young native offered to find the cause of this trouble. He built a fire, sat down before it, and watched the flames, calling it *te ahi na te etua*, the fire of the god. He

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754 saw in it the sorceress who was causing the trouble and went to Hiva Oa, where she lived, to visit her. As he approached, he announced himself by chanting (*tatapa*), "I am———," using the name of the old woman's grandchild. He told her that she must remove the spell, but the old woman refused to listen to him. A second time, the young man built his fire, saw the old witch in it again, and returned, telling her this time that, if [681] she did not remove the spell, he would bring the French authorities, who would send her to the French penal colony in New Caledonia—to a native the most terrifying of all punishments. Frightened into acquiescence, the old woman took the man to the place where she had performed the spell, dug up the article of clothing that had been buried, and scattered the ashes and earth. The native wrote down the exact date and hour of this happening, and it was found afterwards that, at precisely this time, the afflicted captain's eyes were relieved and he removed the bandage which he had worn for months.

Protection Against Spells

Père Pierre (4) describes the rite called *kopu ehu*, the object of which was to protect or insulate an individual against *nati kaha*. A *tuhuna* (whether there was a special *tuhuna* for this is not evident) was employed. He made of coconut fiber seven smooth rings (*mata*), six of which he burnt upon a stone, throwing away the seventh. The ashes he put in coconut water (*vai oe*) with *fau* flowers. This drunk as a potion by a person, insured him against a spell of *kaha*, even though one might be worked directly against him.

Sometimes when a person was employing a native doctor to cure some ill, a personal enemy found out where this doctor had built the fire he had used in preparing his remedy, and at that place the enemy built another fire and recited a spell to counteract the one intended to cure, thus causing the sickness to remain.

DIVINING

787 One of the most common methods of second sight was by gazing into a liquid. Thieves were sometimes detected by *tuhuna* employed for this purpose by gazing into a taro leaf filled with water. In the story of Kena, the hero's mother fills a taro leaf with water, looks into it, and, seeing the lower regions (Havai'i), dives into the water and thus arrives in these regions. In another story is described the pouring of oil on the surface of the sea so that the person might see into the lower regions. Inspirational priests at the temple were supposed to be able to detect breakers of the ceremonial *tapu* by seeing their images in their bowls of *kava*.

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Because of fear of witchcraft hair was always cut over a stream or by the sea so that the cuttings were carried away in the water; or on special sacred platforms where the hair, like other sacred objects, was put in a pit, which protected them; or, according to Garcia (14, p. 49), cuttings were buried. Hair was cut with bamboo knives. Some men allowed their hair to grow long, others cut it short. Old men frequently shaved their heads entirely (14, p. 134). An inspirational priest is described with frizzled hair worn in a disordered mass on top of the head (26, p. 229). For festivals men would sometimes cut their hair short down the middle of the head, leaving it long on the sides. The form of hairdressing called *tautike* appears to have been the most popular for men. This consisted of two coils of hair in the form of horns, one on each side of the head (see fig. 25, c). The rest of head was shaved. According to Garcia (14, pp. 130-134) young men wore two horns over the temples, old men one on the top of the head. Hair was shaved off certain parts of the head as a sign of a revenge debt unpaid. This custom and the form of hair dress were called *tope*. When a war for revenge was brewing all the *Na-iki* men would have their heads shaved in this way, the hair being put in a pit before the chief's house on the main feast place of the valley. Sometimes one side was shaved, sometimes the other, or the front only, or the back only; or bands were shaved running crosswise on the scalp. The long lock was allowed to hang down on one shoulder, being passed through a bone or bamboo ornament called *puu* (fig. 24, *a* and *c*). When men went into battle they tied to this lock a skull or other relic of a dead enemy.

According to Garcia (14, p. 134) some women shaved their heads. The use of strips of cloth as headbands and as ribbons woven through the hair was a favorite practice of women. One manner of preparing young women's hair for festivals on Hiva Oa consisted in curling or frizzling it artificially and then raising it to stand out in a great shock through and on top of the *pa'e kea* crown. A Fatu Hiva woman described the preparation of this headdress (*pa'e putea*) for her tatooing feast as follows: the hair was curled by being drawn back on itself; it was knotted loosely behind, and woven in the knot were the ends of strips of *tapa* which radiated from the knot over and around the head, being entwined into the hair; on top of this was placed the *pa'e kea*. Married women cut their hair shoulder length. The cuttings were woven into the edges of sleeping mats for chiefesses or used for making hair ornaments. Women wore on the side or back of the head a knot of hair called *putui* or *putuki*. *Ouoho tavana* or *tavara* (or *havana, havara*) meant hair knotted behind the head (8). *Paehu, pahe'u,* and *kofeu* are given by Dordillon (8) as words meaning comb. These terms appear to be native in origin, but, so far as I know,

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victim. Cannibalism is taboo for women in most primitive groups, but both women and children participated in the cannibal feasts in the Marquesas.

The highest honors went to the warrior who captured his victim and brought him back alive, though he also received credit for an enemy killed in battle. Captives taken alive were tortured and put to death in various ingenious ways, by dismemberment, evisceration, and other methods. Under rare circumstances an extremely handsome man or woman might be adopted, but this broke up the revenge pattern and made complications. Children under three years old did not count as revenge victims, and were consequently not subjected to torture. They were eaten, however, or sometimes strangled and hung up on hooks in the sacred place as a feast for the gods. Victims taken as sacrifices to the gods were not tortured, save in rare cases. They were usually killed quickly and suspended on trees in the sacred grove by means of a hook through the jaw. Occasionally they would be hung up in this fashion while still living. When the bodies decayed they were buried in a special pit. From a social point of view, being eaten was worse than being killed and was a disgrace to the family. For this reason, if a captive had a relative in the valley at the time he was brought in, his kinsman would attempt to have him consecrated to the god immediately so that he would be killed at once and not tortured or eaten.

Certain regulations mitigated these tribal wars. The mother, sister, aunt, or wife of an individual who had been captured and eaten in revenge could go unmolested to the valley of the captors and curse them. She laid a special curse on the man who had been responsible for the capture. The woman painted her body in a particular way in red, white, and black, put on a kilt of leaves, and carried food, which she threw down in the road before the house of the killer. This food would lure the soul of the slain man and also that of the killer on whom she sought revenge. If the soul of the murdered man was in the lead, the woman would rejoice, for that gave her assurance that

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727 754 the killer would be captured and eaten in turn. She would dance before the killer and rain curses upon him. He was expected to treat this exhibition with an attitude of lofty scorn.

Religion

776 [771] In accordance with the rest of the culture, the religion of the Marquesans was highly organized with elaborate development of formal beliefs and rituals. Deities were of two sorts: first group included the great creation deities and the minor deities —personifications of natural forces, the sea, the rain, etc.; and the second, gods of human origin. Unfortunately most ethnological workers in Polynesia have been greatly and too exclusively interested in the great deities. Volumes have been written on the trinity of Polynesian gods, but it is my opinion that in most sections of Polynesia the great gods meant little or nothing to the average person. This was certainly so among the Marquesans. The creation gods and the gods of natural phenomenon were mentioned in chants and also in work rituals which were closely associated with their natural provinces. Thus, if a Marquesan was making a canoe, the god of the sea and of the winds would be invoked, and the spirit of the wood would be called upon to copulate with the master craftsman for the purpose of bringing forth the canoe. However, there were neither temples nor sacrifices to these natural gods, who were regarded as impersonal principles.

The second type of deities were gods of human origin; these were the active and important gods, for the natives felt that only human spirits were really interested in human beings. First of all, there were the tribal gods, who were the spirits of dead chiefs or inspirational priests. Then there were the gods of the trades, who were deified spirits of famous craftsmen. To understand these deities it is necessary to digress at this point to explain the native ideas on death and on the constitution of the individual and the soul.

774 According to the native belief, each living individual had a double or *uhane*, corresponding to our concept of the astral

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nonrelative, a spirit who had fallen in love with the woman. After death her spirit was united with his, as in marriage, a relationship which might or might not be unpleasant to her. *Fanaua* of the second type seemed to be more numerous and more active, and more to be dreaded than those of the first.

The *fanaua* attacked other women at the bidding of his woman and also protected her from attacks of other *fanaua*. The techniques of *fanaua* attack were primarily connected with pregnancy. The *fanaua* might destroy the child in the womb (cases of neurotic symptoms of imaginary pregnancy were, as has been said, a fairly common phenomenon here) or cause the woman to die, during either pregnancy or childbirth. Practically all such deaths were explained on this basis.

The woman knew she had a *fanaua* by the fact that a spirit came to her in dreams, frequently of an erotic nature. Other people knew that she had a *fanaua* by observing what happened to women who antagonized her. Although the woman herself never announced the fact, the knowledge that she was being aided by a spirit spread around the community. The wife of my craft instructor had a *fanaua* of minor power, the spirit of her father, and other women did not fear her much; but the wife of the pastor had one who had been a paramount chief of the island of Tahu Ata some two hundred years before. This spirit was very powerful, and the pastor's wife was feared accordingly. The women were very reticent about the whole *fanaua* belief, probably because it was a source of great anxiety and mutual suspicion.

Offerings were made to living women who were known to have *fanaua* in order to keep the familiar from working harm. A woman who had a *fanaua* was welcomed by the males of the same household because such a familiar offered the most direct method for protection of property. The woman's familiar never operated against her husbands and could even be invoked to help them indirectly by attacking women of other households whose men had wronged them. In one instance, a chief had

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expropriated a garden which belonged to a household of low rank. The wife sent her familiar to make the chief's wife sick and give her the appearance of pregnancy. When the chief's wife realized that her illness was due to magic, a ritual was performed to discover what *fanaua* was causing her trouble. As soon as she and her husband, the chief, learned the name of the *fanaua,* they knew who had sent it and why. The chief thereupon returned the garden, the spirit was called off, and his wife was well again. In cases where restitution was not made, however, the attack continued until the woman died.

Occasionally women who had *fanaua* were killed by the irate relatives of women whom their spirits had attacked. This was the only case in which men killed women, and even this seems to have been somewhat unusual and to have resulted in a blood feud.

The incidence of *fanaua* was about one to every three women. The *fanaua* themselves were graded in power, a *fanaua* who was a relative being considered more effective for defense than for offense. He protected his women against the attacks of other *fanaua* but would not act as a strong or constant aggressor against her enemies.

The *fanaua* belief had still another form. Not only the spirit of the woman who had the *fanaua* was united to him after death, but also the spirits of all the women whom he might have killed. For the victims, at least, this was a highly unpleasant relationship, and could be escaped only by directing the spirit to kill another woman to take the place of the first victim. A woman who died in childbirth was thus assumed to be united to a *fanaua* after death and eager to kill some other woman in order to escape from him. She might indicate the new victim to him, not out of personal animosity toward this woman but merely as a means of getting herself out of a bad spot. It was therefore dangerous for a woman to approach a place where a *fanaua's* victim was buried, since by doing so she might attract the dead woman's attention. Such victims were buried in places

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remote from the village, a small stone platform being erected over the grave. Men frequently made offerings at such places to placate the dead woman and prevent her from choosing a victim from their households.

Fear of women who died in childbirth and special burial rites for them were practically universal in Polynesia, but this was usually rationalized by reference to the jealousy and malevolence of the spirits of unborn children. These hated the living because they themselves had been defrauded of the pleasures of living. I believe that among the Marquesans this general Polynesian pattern had been reinterpreted to conform to local ideas. The whole pattern of *fanaua* seemed to be peculiar to the Marquesas. There were familiars and various forms of spirit possession nearly everywhere in Polynesia, but the relationship was usually established on some other basis.

The basic pattern of the *fanaua* beliefs was clear; women controlled male familiar spirits in two ways. One of these was through a kinship bond, which made it possible for a woman to control the ghost of a male relative in the ascending generation, but only if he offered himself voluntarily. The other method was that in which the woman maintained relations with the *fanaua* through her sexual attraction. This was also at the will of the male spirit, who fell in love with her. This relationship was comparable to the individual affairs which existed between adolescent males and females of the *kaioi* group. The woman's death, after which she became the wife of the *fanaua*, corresponded to the change in relationship which came with marriage and the founding of a household. As has been said before, if this permanent relationship proved unpleasant, she would try to persuade the *fanaua* to kill some other woman to take her place.

Magicians, as distinct from possessors of *fanaua*, might be either men or women. The magician also had to have a familiar spirit or spirits, but one became a magician either through election by a spirit or by studying magic, with the subsequent

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acquisition of a spirit. In the latter case, the magician, after he had completed his training but before he began to practice, had to kill a close relative in the ascending generation by magical means. This relative could be either male or female, but the most effective way for a magician to acquire a powerful familiar was for him to kill his own mother. The magician dominated the spirit of the person he had killed and forced it to serve him. Magical familiars might be of either sex and could work against either sex. Magic might be performed either by sending the spirit directly to make the enemy sick or by using bait. Illnesses of pregnancy and childbirth were always ascribed to *fanaua* and never to malevolent magic. The use of bait followed a familiar magical pattern, the bait consisting of some of the individual's hair, or if this was impossible to obtain, a part of his clothing or some other object which had been in close contact with him. However, I was told by natives that in such practice one was not operating on a part of the personality of the victim, but rather giving the familiar spirit his scent, like putting a dog on the trail. A familiar thus put in touch with an object would then follow up the person to whom it belonged and injure or kill him. The attacking spirit would be called off by the magician if payment was made. It is interesting to note that there seemed to be no rituals in Marquesan magic to preserve work in progress from injury through the magic of rivals or to prevent the success of another person in his work. The presence of hostile magic was shown by sickness or death, not by work failure. If a work project, which usually had certain rituals connected with it, failed, it was because the worker had not done his magic correctly, not because of any fault in the magic itself.

One rather puzzling aspect of Marquesan magic was the complete absence of charms to be worn either for defense or to insure success in any activity. The whole idea of wearing charms appeared to be foreign to them. During the war I had become accustomed to wearing an identification tag around my neck and was still wearing it when I arrived in the islands. The